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. . . The Wisbech (England) Local Peace Association, the 25th annual report of which we have received, has a membership of 6,180. The Sunday School Committee of the Association has the past year given seven first and five second prizes for peace essays. The president of the Association is Miss Priscilla H. Peckover, whose varied services are known to all the friends of peace.

. . . The growth of the British naval expenditures for the last nine years has been as follows: In 1895-96, £19,637,238; in 1899-1900, £25,731,220; in 1900-01, £29,998,529; in 1901-02, £30,981,315; 1902-03, £31,003,977; 1903-04, £35,765,500; 1904-05, £36,889,500 (estimated).

. . . The Nobel Institute for the Study of International Law was opened at Christiania on the 12th of February. Mr. Leevland, president of the Nobel Peace Prize Committee, officiated in the opening. The committee for the study of international law consists of six Norwegian and nine foreign jurists, who will form, it is announced, a sort of consultative tribunal to give opinions on questions of international law.

. . . Premier Balfour, speaking on the Anglo-French Convention during the debate which occurred on the 1st of June on the bill providing for the assent of Parliament to the indemnities and cessions of territory under the agreement, pronounced it one of the greatest international transactions on record.

. . . Apropos of the British "peaceful" mission to Thibet, one cannot help thinking of what Richard Cobden wrote in 1849, when such "peaceful" proceedings against weak peoples were a part of the daily order: "It shocks me to think what fiendish atrocities may be committed by English arms without rousing any conscientious resistance at home, provided they be only far enough off, and the victims too feeble to trouble us with their remonstrances or groans."

. . . One of the subjects for the prize essays this year asked for by the Directors of the Old South Historical Work for Young People is "The Services of Elihu Burritt and other Americans in Connection with the International Peace Congresses in Europe from 1843 to 1851." The competition is open to all the 1903 and 1904 graduates of the Boston High and Latin Schools.

## Arbitration Beyond the Stage of Indifference.

*Address of Hon. George Gray, Chairman, at the opening of the Tenth Mohonk Arbitration Conference, June 1.*

*Mr. Smiley, Members of the Conference:*

I esteem it a great honor to have been asked to preside over this distinguished assemblage. It is a privilege as well as an honor to participate in this tenth annual meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration.

It was a noble effort of a few noble men nine years ago to lead the public opinion of the country in the direction of international arbitration. It is true, they

represented the advanced thought of our time, but advanced thought meets with many discouragements. Statesmanship was indifferent, and practical politics hostile. Good people the world over listened to the dreams of the dreamers, but they thought they knew better than to expect that those dreams should ever be realities. They did not see, or did not recognize, the spiritual ferment which was everywhere stirring the minds and hearts of men; and so to-day we are following, rather than leading, public opinion toward the goal of peaceful arbitration of international differences, and to a realizing sense of the waste and folly of international war.

There has been a certain fullness of time that has made itself manifest before any of the great forward movements in the world's history have taken place, and that fullness of time seems now to have arrived for such a forward movement in the great cause we have at heart. There has been a long preparation for such a consummation. The peoples of the world are being drawn closer together by the wonderful achievements of science and art. The estranging seas no longer separate, but unite, the people of the old world and the new, and a solidarity of material interests has produced something like a solidarity of thought and feeling. The belief that what was hurtful or injurious to the prosperity and well being of one country might be helpful and beneficial to another is not so prevalent as it once was. We no longer consider the advance of alien peoples in wealth and prosperity as a menace to our own. We are more prone now than formerly to recognize such advance as an increment to the world's wealth, in which all, sooner or later, must have some share, however small; that as the waters of a great lake cannot be drawn from or depleted at its most remote corner without sensibly affecting the general level of the great body of its waters, so the material waste and destruction and moral deterioration of a war between nations, however remote, must to some extent injuriously affect the civilized world. The economic waste consequent upon the maintenance of the great and increasing military and naval establishments of the world is beginning to make its due impression upon the enlightened conscience and intelligence of increasing numbers in all countries. Altruism is no longer to be banished from national policies and national conduct, and there is growing recognition of the truth that the obligations of the moral law are imposed upon nations as well as upon individuals. Public opinion is no longer fenced in by national boundaries. It has o'erleaped them all; and now an international public opinion is making itself felt from one corner of Christendom to the other, and, through the instrumentality of a free press, forecasts and controls the conduct and policies of kings and cabinets.

It may be said, and perhaps truly, that these are tendencies, and not accomplished results, but they are tendencies that fill our hearts with hope and encouragement. The progress of civilization has been a slow one. Inveterate prejudices die hard. There has been an ebb and flow, a receding as well as an advancing tide, but, on the whole, we recognize the steady gain of man. We are ourselves carried along with the tendencies of the time in which we live. We must recognize the opportunity and obey the call that has sounded in our ears of a power higher than ours. We are not to be discouraged by un-

toward conditions. The Czar of Russia, who suggested the Hague Tribunal, is involved in internecine war that strains the resources of his empire, but the International Court of Arbitration at The Hague will remain an enduring monument to his wisdom, and shed more glory upon his reign than any triumph, however great, his armies may achieve. The establishment and continued existence of the Permanent Court of International Arbitration will make it more difficult in the future than it has been in the past for nations to engage in war. I believe that its influence will grow slowly, but steadily, and that each resort to its decisions will tend to form and strengthen the habit of looking thitherward, to settle international difficulties by an appeal to reason instead of an appeal to arms.

There is good ground for thinking that the project of a treaty of arbitration between England and the United States is in a forward state of progress, and that the rejection of the Treaty of 1897 by the Senate will help, rather than hinder, the present movement. Its rejection has served to concentrate public attention upon the subject, and in the meantime free discussion and criticism have served to measurably mature a favorable public opinion on both sides of the Atlantic. What imagination is not kindled, what heart does not glow, at the thought of an arbitral agreement between the two great English-speaking nations of the world! Too powerful to be animated by any other motive than a brave and worthy one, the moral effect of their agreement in such a treaty could not fail to advance the cause of international arbitration to a world-wide acceptance.

As for ourselves, we are bound by our own past. There is no more glorious page in our history than that which records its list of arbitral agreements and establishes its leadership in upright diplomacy and peaceful settlement of international difficulties. That international law is no longer the sport of kings and a mockery of the hopes of humanity is largely due to the assertion of its obligations by the statesmen of our formative period. "The parliament of man and the federation of the world" is emerging from the mist of poetry into the sunlight of the practical world. When American diplomacy secures an open port from China, it is not for American commerce alone, but for the commerce of the world. A selfish, sordid, aggressive, or merely a self-serving national policy, will be more difficult to maintain in the future than it has been in the past. Our own national conduct must more and more conform to the enlightened conscience of the country, and will more and more have applied to it the test of morality, as well as of self-interest. What we would highly, that would we holily, and, in the words of an American President, "I mistake the American people if they favor the odious doctrine that there is no such thing as international morality; that there is one law for the strong nation and another for the weak one, and that even by indirection a strong power may, with impunity, despoil a weak one of its territory." There is growing to be a chivalry among nations as there has been a chivalry among men, and, under the protection of that sentiment, the weak nations of the world are measurably secure from aggression or spoliation. No present advantage will justify national disregard of this high behest, or heal the wound inflicted upon the honor of a nation by the abuse of its power.

Since the last meeting of this Conference a year ago there has been a notable triumph in the cause of international arbitration, in the submission by the United States and Great Britain to an arbitral tribunal of the difficult questions arising out of the disputed Alaskan boundary, which had so long vexed the diplomacy and menaced the peace of both countries. It is hard to exaggerate the importance of this submission and of the judgment which ensued. The question submitted was not only one of long standing, but involved many things irritating to the inhabitants of both countries. Feeling and passion had become excited on both sides, and the conditions which are generally antecedents of war were beginning to be manifest. All that has now passed away with the judgment of the tribunal, and, notwithstanding some outcry from our friends across the Canadian border, general acquiescence characterizes the situation. Moreover, the submission involved a territorial question, and it was also thought, by excited patriots, to touch to some extent the honor of the two countries; in other words, the submission covered points which cautious friends of arbitration have been over-careful to exclude from its jurisdiction.

The submission to the Hague Tribunal, by three of the most powerful nations of the world, of the question of preferential treatment in the payment of claims by the Venezuelan government, is another notable triumph, from which we take much encouragement for the future. A warlike demonstration was being made by the claimant nations, any one of whom could have enforced its will, with comparatively little trouble, against so weak a debtor nation. The assent given by the governments interested to the insistence of the United States that their claims should be submitted to arbitration, and their final agreement to refer a part of the controversy to the Hague Tribunal, has done much to strengthen the sentiment that supports this great international tribunal.

These two arbitrations and the contention by our State Department for world open ports in China are in line with the best traditions of American diplomacy, and reflect credit on the Administration which promoted them.

I trust that I am not too optimistic. I fully realize that there are yet many difficulties to overcome, and that stout hearts and a firm purpose are necessary to the accomplishment, even in part, of the object we have in view. But we have passed through the stage of indifference, and contest now with those who oppose would only strengthen our cause. The growing civilization of our time, the broader humanity and more catholic spirit that characterize the generation now on the stage, the diffusion of intelligence and freer intercommunication of thought between the peoples of the world, have brought to our side the most generous impulses and pious aspirations of the day in which we live. We hail the oncoming years of the new century with high hopes and renewed faith.

### The Year's Progress in Arbitration.

*Address of Benjamin F. Trueblood at the Opening of the Tenth Annual Mohonk Lake Conference on International Arbitration, June 1.*

The standard by which the progress of arbitration is now to be measured is the Hague Court, the way in which the governments act toward it and the people